ATTITUDES OF ARAB-AMERICAN WOMEN TOWARDS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

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By

Kristie Jaghab

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ATTITUDE OF ARAB-AMERICAN WOMEN TOWARDS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

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ABSTRACT

ATTITUDES OF ARAB-AMERICAN WOMEN TOWARDS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

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Although nearly three million Arab Americans reside in the United States, little is known about their culture or acculturation processes. This is particularly the case with respect to Arab women, who may find it difficult to adjust to American egalitarian values. Values, such as individuality and equality for women, may present a challenge to many of their beliefs regarding marriage, family, children, and patriarchal gender roles held in Arab societies. Traditional Arab women are not likely to question their husbands' prerogative within the household, and this may incline them to be tolerant when their husbands become angry and behave violently.

This study explored the relationship between an Arab woman's level of acculturation and her attitude towards domestic violence. Participants were given a modified *Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SAS)*, which determined how acclimated they were to the United States. In addition, they were then given an *Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating (IBWB)* to determine their attitudes toward domestic violence. Results were congruent with the following prediction: the greater an Arab woman's level of acculturation, the less tolerant she would be towards domestic violence. Another result showed that Arab women who were highly educated were less tolerant of domestic violence. Moreover, results indicated that the more fluent an Arab woman was in Arabic, the less contact she was likely to have outside her community.

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One unexpected outcome worth noting involved the relationship between the intensity with which an Arab woman practiced her religion and the degree to which she was tolerant of spousal abuse. Findings showed that frequency of religious practice did not prove to be a factor in whether or not an Arab woman tolerated domestic violence.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my mom, who migrated to the United States from the Middle East, and whose hard work and support made it possible for me to complete this dissertation.

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Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my family for valuing and supporting higher educational pursuits. I especially thank my mom for being there for me, believing in me, reminding me to persevere, and supporting me through some difficult times during this process. In addition, I am grateful to my sisters, my brother, my extended family, and my friends for being supportive and always believing that I would complete this process. I would also like to thank Jason for helping me to stay balanced by always reminding me that there is more to life than a dissertation. Your presence has been a constant source of positive energy, motivation, and inspiration. In addition, I would like to thank AIU staff members, Konami Chisholm and Tracy Babbit, for giving me individualized attention and showing genuine interest in my student and career aspirations. Furthermore, I would like to especially thank Rubah Kaileh, Ryan Zander, and Darcy Crosman for helping me edit this dissertation. Darcy you are number one in enthusiasm and support for this topic.

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was amazing how much he and Dr. Tori were on the same page when they edited my work. Thanks for always using a purple pen because it was less intimidating.

Finally, I give great thanks to Dr. Tori, who I knew would be the chair of my dissertation from the moment I entered his challenging statistics course. He has the natural ability to motivate, challenge, and give students the confidence they need to grow personally and professionally. Whenever I saw Dr. Tori in the hallway, I knew that I would graduate from this arduous program. His students and their work are a priority to Dr. Tori. In my four years of observation, it is rare to see a chair or committee member return dissertation feedback within a week. Furthermore, when I started this program, September 11th occurred, and upon ending the program, the Tsunami disaster happened. I had Dr. Tori's class on September 11, 2001, and his heart is in Thailand, as he has contributed much research there. A deep empathy goes out to his friends and family living in Thailand. Throughout these tragedies, Dr. Tori has been a model of strength and hopefulness. Thanks again. I really do appreciate all you have done for your students.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

The number of Arab Americans is rapidly growing in the United States, with the current population approaching nearly three million (Abudabbeh, 1996). Although the Arab world is diverse and encompasses many subcultures, there are significant traditions and ideologies that are universal within this population. For example, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Arab community is its conservative attitude toward gender roles. Within Arab cultures, the behavior of men and women is strictly defined and formed on the basis of a patriarchal system, in which men are dominate (Al Krenawi & Graham, 2000). In most Arab households, the man has the responsibility to work and support his family financially, while the woman's primary role is to provide emotional support for the family and oversee household responsibilities. The few women who work outside of the household often terminate their careers as a result of marriage or pregnancy (Grossbard-Shechtman & Neuman, 1998).

In traditional Arab cultures, women are expected to fulfill roles as *good wives* (Haj-Yahia, 2000a). If a woman refuses to do as she is directed, stress and disharmony occur (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). In order to avoid being ostracized by other family members, most Arab women show respect to males in the family (i.e., fathers, brothers, husband and in-laws). This respect extends to the mother/father in-law once the woman is married and less focus is placed on her father and brothers. She is now viewed as the responsibility of her husband and his family, and her primary responsibility is to take care of her husband and children (Patai, 1969).

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In the Middle East, most daughters are taught the role of a good wife at an early age. For some girls in this geographic area, the thought of getting married and moving to a country like the United States may be a desirable, but distant, fantasy. When Arabs migrate to Western countries, issues of gender equality and independence are likely to be troublesome because assimilating to new surroundings can become difficult. Buda and Elsayed-Elkhouly (1998) understood this difficulty is as follows:

> Arab respondents believe in a collectivist orientation. Their identity is based in their social system, and they are emotionally dependent upon their institutions. Their private lives are invaded by organizations and clans to which they belong, and in turn, the organization provides expertise, order, duty, and security. (p. 487)

In contrast, Americans place greater emphasis on individualism and egalitarianism, and they rely less upon the views of their extended family and the immediate community than traditional Arabs (Buda & Elsayed-Elkhouly, 1998). As Arab women immigrate to the United States and adjust to their new environment, they can be confronted with conflicting messages regarding acceptable, gender-appropriate behaviors (e.g., working outside the house, choosing their own attire, sharing domestic duties). For example, in American culture, when two people are married, assets are typically divided equally and laws are designed to protect the rights of each partner regardless of gender, religion, or economic status (Lasch, 1966). However, in Middle East countries, when two people are married, social conventions and laws are designed to support the male as primary decision maker and authority of the household.

In general, most Arab countries are patriarchal, with men having the authority to make all major decisions (Ganim, 2001). This aspect of Arab society makes it difficult

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for women to feel they have a part in many matters that concern them. Another important factor to consider is that family issues are viewed as the patriarch's domain and as such, are not to be interfered with by society. For this reason, physical and emotional violence is not viewed as a societal problem, but rather a private matter left within the family. Unfortunately, it is not uncommon in Arab populations for a woman to be physically or emotionally abused by her husband. In Haj-Yahia and Edleson's (1994) study of physical and/or emotional abuse of Arab men towards their fiancés, it was found that over 50% of the men studied (N=434) had engaged in physical and/or emotional abuse towards their future wives. Though it is striking how many Arab men admitted to engaging in physical and emotional abuse towards women, Arab women's perceptions of this abuse is even more remarkable and is described below.

Haj-Yahia (2002b) used seven different self-administered measures to explore the attitudes that 356 Jordanian women have towards wife hitting. He found that a great majority of these women believed that the violence experienced at the hands of men was justified because women somehow provoked this behavior and benefited from the beatings. The majority of the participants also believed that women who are battered should not seek help from governmental agencies and that the problem resides in the family. Finally, because women were considered the cause for the abuse, many of them felt that men should not be punished for their actions. Haj-Yahia suggested that the results are representative of aspects of patriarchal ideology that pervade Jordanian culture and other Arab societies.

When an Arab woman migrates to the United States she carries the beliefs, values, and norms that emanate from her native culture. As an Arab woman begins to

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acquire the English language, she typically feels more confident in socializing with American women. She may also have children who attend school, whether public or private, with American children. Her new friends will likely further expose her to American values. She may also acclimate to the values of her new country through television and other public media outlets. In these ways, an Arab woman becomes gradually exposed to American women's way of viewing themselves in relation to men and society. As they learn that American women consider themselves to be equal to men in terms of work and family roles (Feldmann, 1998), many Arab women may begin to question traditional Arab gender roles. As an Arab woman struggles with her own identity as a woman in the American culture, she may become less tolerant of the patriarchal belief system that has been imposed on her. The more acculturated an Arab woman becomes, the more likely she will want to work outside the house or educate herself. Through study, she may become more open-minded to exploring customs outside of her culture. These new psychosocial factors will likely influence her level of acculturation and affect her attitude towards domestic violence. However, to date there have been no studies conducted which have explored Arab women's' level of acculturation in the United States and their subsequent attitudes towards spousal abuse.

Purpose of the Study

The major aim of this study was to explore the impact of acculturation on Arab women and how it may affect their attitudes and behavior towards spousal abuse. I tested the hypothesis that the more acculturated an Arab woman is, the less tolerant she will be towards spousal abuse. This was accomplished by measuring, the acculturation level of women who had emigrated to the U.S. from any Arab country and correlating these

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scores with their attitudes towards domestic violence. Participants were given a modified *Self-Identity Acculturation Scale* which determined how acclimated there were to the United States. They were then given an *Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating (IBWB)* to determine their attitudes toward domestic violence. It was hypothesized that the higher an Arab woman's score on the acculturation scale, the stronger would be her beliefs that wife hitting is not justified, women are not responsible for abuse, help should be given in cases of domestic abuse, offenders should be punished, and husbands rather than wives are responsible for their own abusive behavior.

The following additional hypotheses were also explored: Women who have had arranged marriages will have achieved a lower level of education; the more educated an Arab woman, the less tolerant she will be toward domestic violence; the more fluent an Arab woman is in her native language, the less contact she will have outside of her Arab community; and the more an Arab woman practices her religion, the more she will prefer to speak Arabic.

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CHAPTER II: UNDERSTANDING THE ARAB CULTURAL CONTEXT

The following literature review provides background information that enables the reader to better appreciate the cultural issues that shape the experience Arab women have in the United States. In order to gain insight into Arab women's' acculturation experience and how it influences their beliefs about spousal abuse, it is important to understand the culture within which they were raised, and their language, religion, and family values. In addition, experiences that most populations undergo when they immigrate to the United States will be discussed, as well as those that may be unique to the Arab population. Also, the literature on domestic violence will be reviewed as well as domestic violence within the Arab community.

The concept of culture is multidimensional and is defined by attributes associated with values, norms, religious beliefs, family structures, attitudes towards humanity, and linguistic particulars (Giddens & Duneier, 2000). While not all Arabs live in the same regions of the world or worship in the same way, Arabs can be defined as people who share more commonalities than differences (Naff, 1999). As with any culture, it is important to understand specific values, beliefs, and lifestyle prior to drawing conclusions. Although the Arab world is diverse and encompasses many subcultures, there are significant traditions and ideologies that are universal within the Arab world. In the United States, most Arab Americans derive their cultural identity from the Arab traditions that exist in North Africa and the Middle East.

Demographics

Abraham (1995) stated that the actual number of Arab Americans may be significantly higher than the US Census Bureau's estimate of three million (Detroit Free

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Press, 2004) because some may have migrated to the United States without reporting to the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS). The total estimate of the world's Arab population is 255 million with the majority living in the 21 Arab nations located in the Middle East and North Africa: (i.e., Magheeb, United Arab Emirate, Bahrain, Tunesia, Algeria, Saudia Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Qatar, Kuwait, Libya, Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, Oman, Morocco, Yemen, Aden, Djibouti, Palestine, and Lebanon). These countries are predominately Arab but have other groups within them as well. Other countries with a significant Arab population are France with approximately 2 million; Israel with an estimated population of 1 million (excluding Palestinian territories), Australia with 210,000, Britain with 210,000, and Canada with an estimated population of 80,000 (Al-Boustani & Farques, 1991; Al-Al Krenawi & Graham 1998; UNESCO, 1996).

Language

Arabic is the common language that is spoken around the globe among Arab populations. This linguistic form had its origins in the ancient culture of the Arabian Peninsula, and it was not until the seventh century that Arabic spread beyond the peninsula by means of Islamic conquests, causing it to be widely spoken from Western Europe to Eastern Asia (Naff, 1999). Because of Arabic's transcendence of geographic borders, it has become a unifying force for those who speak it. Although there are many different dialects, there is a standardized vernacular (Katzner, 1975). The significance of the language cannot be minimized because it is also the original language of the Qur'an.

During the 1970's, Arabic was considered to be the fourth most commonly spoken language in the world (after Chinese, English and Spanish), and became recognized as the sixth official language of the United Nations (Katzner, 1975; Nydell,

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1987). It is a complex communication system, and due to the existence of many homonyms it is difficult to discern meanings of words. Non-native speakers find it challenging to ascertain the correct pronunciation of Arabic words because of the abundance of consonants in the language (Katzner, 1975). It is also euphemistic by its inclusion of metaphors that create numerous meanings for different contexts (Nydell, 1987). For example, an individual who is incarcerated may be inclined to describe his or her situation as a lengthy vacation in order to save the family from embarrassment. Exaggeration is also an element that can be troublesome if taken literally. However, the creative use of metaphor is intended for emotional satisfaction and expression of feeling (Nobles & Sciarra, 2000).

For many native Arab speakers, learning a second language can be very challenging because of the uniqueness of Arabic from other popular world languages. This necessarily hinders many from successful assimilation in a foreign society. Kulwicki and Miller (1999) noted that 50% of Arabs who arrive in the United States are unable to read, write, and converse in English. Therefore, their experience in the United States is mediated by their common language of Arabic. Arabs share other commonalities that serve as a unifying force, which provide them with a sense of bonding, especially when they migrate to countries where Arab is not the dominant spoken language. Another unifying aspect of Arab culture that many Arabs share is a sense of spirituality, which helps to provide emotional support.

Religion

Regardless of an individual's particular faith, religion plays a significant role in an Arab's life as it is embedded in the culture. Religion permeates through both

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individual and collective attitudes in daily life. According to Nydell (1987), Arabs hold the following basic attitudes towards religion: (a) almost everyone holds theistic views and has a religious affiliation humans cannot control all events, and some things depend on divine influence (i.e., fate); (b) piety is one of the most admirable characteristics in a person; and (c) there should be no separation between church and state. This means that religion should be taught in schools and promoted by governments, and religious tenets should not be subjected to *liberal* interpretations or modifications, which can threaten established beliefs and practices.

Islam is the most frequently practiced religion in Arab countries. In addition, one in six people throughout the world, 80% of which are outside the Arab world, are followers of Muhammad (Belt, 2002a). Although Islam comprises 80% percent of Arab populations (Ali, 1995), people in Middle Eastern countries also practice Christianity, including Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism. In addition, a small percentage of Arabs are members of the Druze faith. However, Islam, with approximately 1.3 billion followers, dominates the Middle East and remains one of the world's fastest growing religions, (Belt, 2002a).

Islam

Islam was founded by Muhammad, who was born 570 AD, and is based on his exemplary life and revelations (Naff, 1999). According to Watt (1966), Muhammad lived during a time when the Arab culture was making a shift from a nomadic to a more stable and settled lifestyle. During this transition, tribes that were matrilineal were starting to become patrilineal. During the time when society was matrilineal, nomadic, and tribal, a married woman would stay at her mother's house, give birth to her child, and the father

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of the child would visit her at her home. Women sometimes had more than one husband, at times concurrently. Women frequently divorced and remarried more than once. With the trend to a more patrilineal society, Arab communities became more individualistic and less communal. Muhammad helped introduce Islamic laws that codified the patrilineal relationship. With this transition, men became increasingly concerned with their individual property rights with what had been considered communal property. It then became important to know who fathered a child since the father would want to pass on his possessions to his offspring. Subsequently, the father's concern for the paternity of his children may have gradually set in motion factors we observe in modern Arab culture where a woman, once married, is considered her husband's responsibility.

Along with the articulation of laws that helped reform the institution of marriage and rules regarding kinship and property (Watt, 1966), Muhammad articulated a new theology of one God (Belt, 2002a). In the Arab language, *Islam* refers to the submission to God (Longrigg, 1963). Muhammad was not considered divine; he was the messenger of God. Although Muslims believe they are the descendants of the Abraham of the Old Testament, they hold the belief that Muhammad is their fundamental teacher (Ganim, 2001).

Being the most dominant religion in Arab communities, Islam plays a major role in the everyday lives of its followers (Renard, 1992). Muslims rely heavily upon religious teachings and refer to Islam to dictate both individual and social behavior. According to Renard (1992), Muslims use Muhammad's life and teachings as a guide for spiritual practice. Muslims also believe that the spiritual lives of Jesus and Mother Mary are

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models of how to live a spiritual life. However, although they revere Jesus, they do not consider him divine.

In order to follow Muhammad's teachings, Muslims must emulate three specific spiritual journeys that he took in his lifetime. The first is *the Hijra*, or the journey he took from Makka to Medina in 622 C.E. This is a metaphorical journey for Muhammad's followers that represents their willingness to depart from their home and follow God's call to "establish a community of justice in an unjust world" (Renard, 1992, p. 8). The second journey is *the Hajj*, which represents the final pilgrimage Muhammad took to Mecca from Medina at the end of his life. This pilgrimage represents spiritual fulfillment within the self. The third journey that followers wish to emulate is derived from Muhammad's early mystical experience where he was lifted from one place of worship in Mecca to a sanctuary or mosque in Jerusalem, at which point he glimpsed the afterworld, and this represents how living a life such as Muhammad's may lead one to have similar mystical experiences (Renard, 1992).

The teachings of Muhammad are integrated into established school curricula. In Saudi Arabia, approximately 30% of the school curriculum nationwide consists of religious studies. Subsequently, the same pattern is consistent throughout the university system. As many Islamic countries do not separate religion and public policy, the absence of a secular government allows the state to "to aim the students in the true Islamic direction'' (Nevo, 1998, p. 2).

Devout Muslims refer to the *Five Pillars of Islam* for basic practices of everyday life. Esposito (1991) and Wilkinson (1999) listed the Five Pillars of Islam as:

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1. *The Profession of Faith*: A person believes that Muhammad is a messenger of God and that God is Allah and there is no God but him.
2. *Prayer:* Muslims are expected to pray five times a day facing in the direction of Mecca.
3. *Almsgiving (zakat):* If they are able to do so, adult Muslims pay an annual fee, which is 2.5% of their income, assets, and wealth.
4. *The Fast of Ramadan.* During one month of the year, from sunrise to sunset, Muslims do not consume food or water. Muslims abstain from sexual activity during this time as well. Ramadan is considered to be a time to wash away sins and to recognize that poor people are suffering from hunger.
5. *Pilgrimage: The Hajj.* An adult Muslim is expected to go to Mecca one time in his life.

After Muhammad's death, the Qur'an became the Muslim scriptures. It is the leading source of information concerning the nature of the unitary divinity and the relationships of humans and the divine (Nasr, 2002a). It contains 114 chapters and a total of 6,000 verses, which gives direction to the reader and can be applied to all aspects of life (Belt, 2002a; Esposito, 1991). The Qur'an contains a map, not just for the individual, but collectively, for any group of people who believe in the Divine as articulated by Muhammad. The Qur'an encompasses a constitution that can be applied economically, politically, and socially (Amawi, 1992).

Qur'an Dictums Regarding Treatment of Women

A common misperception about Islam is that, on the surface of the religion, Muslims do not appear to think that women are equal to men. However, according to

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Renard (1992), "Muslims think of Islam as the last bastion of genuine egalitarianism under God. Like all the rest of us, they have had a hard time translating ideals into realities" (Renard, 1992, p.70). He added, "Muslim writers often situate human rights within the context of 'God's Rights" (p. 73). For example, Verse 2960 of the Qur'an (Abdullah, 1413 H.) suggests that men and women who are married have equal rights under God if adultery should occur. The way an accusation of adultery is handled in the Qur'an reflects an underlying belief that both partners should take seriously their marital vows. The Qur'an holds that trust in the marital relationship should prevail over any false charge of adultery.

The Qur'an stipulates that if one of the couple is accused, four witnesses to the adultery must verify the accusation. The Qur'an notes that even one outside witness to such an event is unlikely, therefore these charges cannot be proved, and neither can a woman be punished for the accusation. It would appear that this part of the scripture would protect woman from being falsely accused and punished for being unfaithful. The Qur'an also lays a foundation for the way a husband should handle the matter if he claims he saw her commit adultery. It specifies that the matter should be handled verbally by the husband swearing to God four times that he saw her commit adultery, and by her swearing to God four times that she did not. If she is unable to do the latter, that proves she is guilty. Additionally, whether she is innocent or guilty, the law stipulates divorce. The Qur'an notes that such an accusation serves a breach of trust and that "it is against human nature that the parties can live together happily after such an incident" (p. 1004). It should also be noted that this part of the Qur'an scripture dictates that divorce is permitted in Islam for reasons other than adultery.

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Devoted Muslims are expected to spend their life studying the Qur'an through transcription and memorization of the Arabic text. Although it has been translated in numerous languages, Arabic is the primary modality used to study the Qur'an because, to a devout Muslim, "in a very real sense, it is the language of God" (Esposito, 1991, p. 21). From this perspective, since the Qur'an was written in the Arabic language, the meaning is best understood in Arabic. The Qur'an and the Five Pillars of Islam help to delineate Islam's similarities and distinctions from other world religions.

Christianity

Although a majority of Arabs abandoned Christianity over one thousand years ago, a minority has retained Christian beliefs. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam originated in the Middle East, thereby exposing Arabs to diverse beliefs. This has resulted in communities of non-Islamic Arabs.

According to Smith (1995), though complex in its practice and history, Christianity rests on a single simple foundation. It involves the notion that people are born into a situation that is referred to as a state of sin. This means that they are alienated from each other and their maker. However, Jesus of Nazereth offered a possibility for healing and redemption through the example of his life and death. Jesus is thought to be both human and divine and has become "the paradigmatic figure against which all human effort must be measured" (p. 250). In this regard, Jesus offers the spiritual role model for Christians (Brown & Anatolios, 2002a), that Muhammad does for Muslims. Muslims also revere Jesus as a prophet, although they do not consider him divine (Ganim, 2001). The most popular denominations of Christianity among Arabs are Eastern Orthodox (e.g., Greek, Armenian, Russian) and Roman Catholicism.

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History of the Eastern Orthodox Church

Christianity had roots in Palestine and spread rapidly throughout the Middle East (Orthodox Christianity, 2004). With the advent of the Roman emperor Constantine, Christianity became the official religion of the empire. Subsequently, throughout the Roman world, the Christian religion shaped all aspects of life including culture, art, and education. By the end of the third century, the Roman Empire was separated into two parts, each with its own emperor. The eastern half spoke Greek and the western half Latin (Brown & Anotolios, 2002a; Ellwood, 1998). In 787 A.D., due to many cultural, political, and theological disagreements, the ecclesiastic foundations, which had united the East and West, began to deteriorate. According to Ellwood (1998), in 1054 AD, the Christian church became divided into two locations and denominations: East (Eastern Orthodox) and West (Roman Catholic). An important difference between these two groups is that the Roman Catholic Church gives an extraordinary amount of authority and power to a single pope, whereas Orthodox churches are organized into national affiliations, (e.g., Greek, Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, and Serb) each of which has a patriarch. In 1054, the Patriarch of Constantinople was the leader of the Orthodox churches. According to Ellwood (1998), during the great schism, the Orthodox Patriarch and the Roman Pope excommunicated one another. It was not until 1965 that the edicts were rescinded and relations were re-established.

In spite of the doctrinal and structural differences between the two churches, there is little contention between Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholics in Arab countries. In the Middle East, the spread of the Eastern Orthodox Church was restricted by the rapid

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growth of Islam in the seventh century, and currently Christians experience discrimination from the Muslim majority (Habib, 1990).

Relationship Between Followers of Islam and Christianity

According to Habib (1990), discrimination of the Arab Christians by the Muslim majority occurs due to "the traditional Islamic view of Christians and Jews as 'People of the Book,' to be tolerated but never treated as equals" (p.17). In the past, Christians were relegated to *dhimmi*, "literally, under the protection of the Muslims"(p.17), or second-class status. They were not able to promulgate their religion, were required to pay taxes, and needed to wear distinctive attire. Although, with the exception of Saudi Arabia, many Arab countries have lifted the severest of these restrictions, political, personal, and religious freedoms of Non-Muslims continue to be circumscribed in Islamic communities.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Arab nationalist movements appeared to offer Christians the hope that they could participate in a larger identity that would unite the divisions that religion had made in their communities. However, Arab nationalism tended to be authoritarian in nature and rejected the West as being imperialistic. "No ethic of universal individual rights has flourished in Islamic culture" (Habib, 1990, p.17), and current interpretations of the Qur'an appeared to undermine any notion of equal rights. The fact that Islam does not choose to separate church and state makes it difficult for any political state to uphold individual human rights. Therefore, Habib (1990) suggested that Arab Christians and women would continue to suffer discrimination until a re-interpretation of Islamic tenets revives the spirit of human rights that is at the core of the Qur'an.

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Although there are many discrepancies and much controversy among Christians and Muslims, both groups believe in one God. Fundamental Christian beliefs concerning mortality, ethics, and reverence for the divine do not notably differ from fundamental Muslim tenets (Chadwick, 1995; Wilkinson, 1999).

Druze

According to Haj-Yahia (2000a), the Druze religion originated in Lebanon and is practiced in Syria and Israel. Currently, five percent of the Lebanon population is Druze (Harris, 1997). The Druze are not widely understood because they are "...a secretive and closed community" (Esposito, p. 49). A major tenet of Druze concerns the teachings of Al-Hakim, an intellectual, religious, and political leader who considered himself the link between humans and the creator. Two of his followers, Darazi and Al-Hamza, helped others recognize Al-Hakim as the mortal savior. Whereas Muslims use the Qur'an as a scripture, the Druze use the *Book of Wisdom and Law*, or the *Risail al-Hikma* consisting of different letters left behind by Al-Hamza, Al-Hakim, and Al-Muktana. Readers of the *Risail al-Hikma* abstain from alcohol, tobacco, and stimulants while abiding by guidelines such as living in a community with others who share their religious beliefs. Druze followers also believe that souls remain mortal until life is perfected, at which point the soul will migrate to a higher destination.

Though the religious practices of the Arab world seem to vary, theistic views predominate, and the importance of religion in governing all aspects of life. One binding influence that permeates the Middle East is the notion that people must marry within their own religion (Khayat & Keatinge, 1960). Religion and the practice of religion are

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obviously quite integral to domestic life. In addition to religious beliefs, family values are also very important.

Family

In Arab culture, an individual's decisions are often based on values that are most important to the family, while personal satisfaction and desires are sacrificed for the collective well being of the family. The father assumes the role of financial provider and instills cultural, religious, and social values within the family unit (Barakat, 1993). The mother acts as the caregiver, taking on the responsibilities of child bearing and homemaking (Nobles & Sciarra, 2000).

Parental influence on children is a staple of the Arabic family unit, often remaining strong through adulthood (Nobles & Sciarra, 2000). As chronicled by El Saadaawi (1993), arranged marriages and marriages based on cultural similarity are common among Arabs. When a daughter reaches early adolescence, parents begin to search for a suitable husband. The parents, through a multitude of sources including friends of the family and relatives, choose among prospective husbands. During this process, the woman's family considers the last name of the potential husband because it enables the parents to gather information about his family. The last name is a way to measure reputation, social status, and respect within the Arab community (El Saadaawi, 1993). This is significant because the respect of the woman and her family is dependent upon marriage into a reputable family. Therefore, parents will often readily accept marriage proposals based on the reputation of the man's family. The man will also take into account the reputation of the woman's family name and status. Once married, the

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woman's behavior will influence the reputation of her maiden name (Najjar, 1994; Nobles & Sciarra, 2000).

Haj-Yahia (2000b) stated that once an Arab couple has married and develops a nuclear family, the roles in the family are clearly defined. With respect to children, giving birth to a son is very important because it allows the family name to be maintained. From birth, the son is taught how to maintain the family's honor and stability. The first son is usually named after his father and the family typically refers to him as, "son of the father's first name." When the father dies, the eldest son is expected to take responsibility of the entire family. This responsibility includes making all household decisions (Abu-Hilal & Aal-Hussain, 1997; El Saadawi, 1993; Najjar, 1994).

Due to the existing patriarchal system, it is not uncommon for sons to receive more attention and privileges than daughters. Because daughters are not given the same social opportunities as sons, they are often deprived of higher education (Abu Lughod, 2000), careers, and financial independence. Instead, they are taught domestic responsibilities and child rearing in order to learn how to care for their future husbands (Abudabbeh, 1996; Khayat & Keatinge, 1960). Girls are taught to be polite, passive, and docile, with an emphasis on etiquette and manners that are deemed acceptable in society.

Violence Against Women in Arab Culture

Currently (Cohen & Savaya, 2003), Arab women are allowed to work outside of the household, but men still retain final authority in the family, society, and culture. Due to the man's financial and social status, as well as his patriarchal role in the household, men expect that their wives and children will follow social conventions. In a sense, the man is considered the "master of the house" (p. 286). Haj-Yahia (2002a) stated that if

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family members do not obey or comply with the patriarch's rules, or he feels his rights as a father or a husband are threatened, he may respond with violence. In situations where a man hits his wife, both genders consider the man responsible for hitting the wife. Although the man has committed a violent act, there's also a tendency to understand and sympathize with his trials and tribulations as the head of the household.

Divorce

Divorce initiated by women is forbidden in the Arab culture. Only males can initiate divorce, but this is not encouraged. If a daughter were to be divorced by her husband, it would be an embarrassment to the family; blame is often placed on her for marital difficulties. In addition, she may have a difficult time remarrying, depending on her age. Should the woman divorce, she then becomes the responsibility of her father or brothers once again. She may have to relocate and live with the family member who lives closest to her. Relocating to the United States brings other challenges to Arab women, which will be better understood after reviewing their process of immigration and acculturation.

Arab Immigration to the United States

The first wave of Arab immigration to the United Sates began in the early 1880's and lasted until the beginning of World War I (Naff, 1999). These immigrants were predominantly Christian and emigrated from Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. After the creation of Israel in 1948, the second wave of immigration began. Israeli statehood displaced many Arabs, and caused them to become refugees in various countries. In addition to the establishment of Israel, newly formed Arab states created political instability, further fueling the immigration wave. Because of this political upheaval,

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many immigrants also left their native countries to pursue higher education that was no longer available in their own countries due to governmental regime changes. Furthermore, many professionals (e.g., doctors, teachers, and lawyers) emigrated due to the limited number of opportunities in their native countries (Naff, 1999).

Today, the majority of Arab immigrants are Muslim. When they arrive to their destinations, they often revive nationalistic feelings among their peers, and continue to hold strong ties with their homelands. In general, Arab immigrant communities promote networking and solidarity among themselves (Naff, 1999). Preserving strong ties is a way of keeping peace, happiness, and connecting with others while in the process of adjusting to the United States. However, maintaining strong bonds may be difficult for people who are in the process of encountering a new environment, values, and different ways of living.

Acculturation

Acculturation can have various meanings, such as assimilating, adjusting, blending, and adapting to a new environment (Mego, 1988). According to Devos (1975), the difference between adjusting and adapting is that adjustment refers to internal experiences, while adapting corresponds more to external relationships with others.

Acculturation is the amalgamation of two previously unfamiliar cultures. Cultural change occurs in both cultures involved, but the minority culture often experiences a more difficult adjustment. According to Berry (1998), "non-dominant groups often accept or may be forced to accept the language, laws, religion, and educational institutions of the dominant group" (p.117). Non-dominant groups, however, contribute to the majority culture by exposing it to alternative types of food and lifestyles.

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Jones (1993) noted that even when an individual becomes "a competent participant in the majority culture, the acculturated individual will always be identified as a member of the minority culture" (p. 281). This aspect of acculturation exemplifies the difficulties individuals face when attempting to acclimate to a society, which is dominated by a majority group.

Acculturating to the United States can be easy for one individual and more difficult for another. Al Krenawi and Graham (2000) noted that levels of acculturation and its effects on individuals differ from generation to generation. Furthermore, the amount of effort an individual puts into accepting the new culture determines the effect of acculturation on his or her psychological well-being.

Balancing new cultural ways with old ways can be difficult for immigrants. As Al-Al Krenawi & Graham (2000) noted, "ethnic Arab immigrants in Western countries are known to experience divided loyalties between the ways of the new country and those of the old dilemma" (p.11). For example, in America, independence, education, work, and fiscal stability are important for both men and women. In America, education is viewed as the vehicle to financial success. However, many Arab immigrants have limited resources for education due to their need to take care of their families. A study of Jordanians and Israelis in the West Bank showed that there was a 20% drop in children who continued from middle school into high school (Mar'i & Karayanni, 1976). This exemplifies the difficulties some Arab immigrant face when entering the United States' educational system. Therefore, education can be challenging, overwhelming, and in many cases, terminated.

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Another important factor to consider, when determining how well Arab immigrants might adjust to the United States, is the degree to which they prefer to associate within their own community. As mentioned above, religion and language provide bonds that help unite newly arrived Arab immigrants. English is very difficult to learn for one whose original language is Arabic. Therefore, the Arab community provides a source of support and reduces an Arab's sense of alienation.

Encountering different values from their own may impel Arabs to cling even more tenaciously to their traditional practices and beliefs. Arabs' patriarchal beliefs are challenged when they encounter American attitudes towards women, which tend to be more egalitarian. As Mar'i and Karayanni (1976) suggested, when people are immersed or exposed to a society more modern than that to which they are accustomed, gender roles can become less pronounced. Since the United States is more modernized and provides greater gender equity than most Arab societies, it offers women more opportunity for autonomy.

For Arab women in particular, acclimating to American cultural values surrounding gender roles can be very disconcerting. Looking back at history, to the latter part of the 19th century, when Arabs initially came to the United States, the times as well as the cultural differences must have provided a striking contrast to Arab women's patriarchal belief system. This disparity in cultural values may have made their transition to United States even more arduous than it is today (Naff, 1999). Acclimating to a new culture can cause considerable stress and disharmony within the family (Al Krenawi and Graham, 2000). Given the tendencies that are inherent in a family accustomed to

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patriarchal society and rigid gender roles, the expression of this stress and discord can lead to domestic violence.

Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is considered one of the leading causes of injury among women worldwide (Grossman & Lundy, 2001). Each year an estimated two to four million women reported incidents of domestic battery in the United States (Novello, 1992). Grossman and Lundy (2001) noted that, on an average, women who are subject to violence are repeatedly battered, raped, or physically assaulted by their former partner three and a half times a year. In addition, it is estimated that eight to twelve million women in the United States may encounter physical, sexual, and/or emotional abuse at least once in a lifetime by their male partner (Flitcraft, Hadley, Hendricks-Matthews, McLeer & Warshaw, 1992).

In 1995, the U.S. Department of Justice reported that 25% of homicides occur within the family, and the victim is usually a woman (Kulwicki & Miller, 1999). In 1990, the Federal Bureau of Investigation reported that 30% of homicides against women were carried out by their spouse. Homicide reports indicate that during the years of 1976-1998 the odds of women in a relationship being murdered were significantly higher than men (Grossman & Lundy, 2001).

Reports have also shown that up to 35% of women who have been admitted to the emergency room were battered by their former partner (Shea, Mahoney, & Lacey, 1997). Existing evidence suggests that it is common for violence to occur during pregnancy. The American Medical Association noted that a staggering 20% of women who reported battery were battered during pregnancy.

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Battery creates problems in myriad ways, depending on how severe the battered woman perceives the problem to be (Levinson, 1989). The number of battery incidents is also dependant upon how the woman defines battery (Mattson & Rodriguez, 1999). Helton's (1986) definition of *battery* included pushing, kicking, hitting, punching, and/or sexually abusing. A battered woman is one who has been psychologically affected or physically injured by the male partner with whom she resides (Scott, 1974). Battery is often underreported (Novello & Soto-Torres, 1992), and occurs among women with varying levels of education, culture, socioeconomic status, and religion.

Walker (1979) gave the following characteristics that battered women may exhibit: negative self image; the belief after being abused that the woman was battered because "she deserved it," i.e., taking the blame for an abuser's actions, feelings of guilt and/or anger, inability to protect herself in her own environment, physical pain due to stress, and the belief that no one can resolve the issue but herself. Earlier, Bell (1977) noted these problems: Feelings of loneliness and insecurity; the belief that the abuser would change; depression; the belief that she would be unable to survive on her own in the hostile world; and the fear that she would be looked at differently if she chose to divorce.

Because of cultural or familial expectations and beliefs, battered women may be passive and allow domestic violence to go unreported. Since domestic violence is viewed differently among various ethnicities, the level of acculturation, severity of abuse, and amount of time the woman is being abused are contributing factors as to if, or when, she reports the domestic violence, or severs the relationship (McFarlene, 1993; McFarlene & Parker, 1994; Taggart & Mattson, 1996; Torres, 1991, 1993). Most women who reside in

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Arab countries do not believe in getting governmental agencies involved (Haj-Yahia, 2002b), and therefore do not report the abuse.

Domestic Violence with Arab Women

Haj-Yahia (1997, 2000a) concluded that in the Arab culture it is not uncommon for men and women to justify domestic violence as a harmless act. Domestic violence usually occurs when the woman insults or disobeys her husband, does not follow traditional roles, disrespects family and friends, or has sexual relationships with someone other then her husband. When an Arab woman is physically or emotionally abused, she often turns to her nuclear and extended family for help. The extended family is normally involved long before any legal action, if it is taken. At times, help received from family might exacerbate the victim's situation since she may be pressured to stay or go back to her husband. These instances reinforce feelings of helplessness and lack of confidence within the woman. Depending on the social context, family involvement may temporarily stifle violent incidents within the household or eradicate them completely, though this is rare (Walker, 1984).

Protection is usually offered temporarily since the victim needs to continue to fulfill her role as a wife, mother, sister, or daughter. Excessive intervention could hinder the reputation of the nuclear and extended family as a whole. In some cases when domestic violence becomes an issue, a woman's in-laws may convince or encourage their son to divorce in an attempt to justify that the victim was not raised properly. This would cause the victim to be viewed by her in-laws as disobedient, disrespectful, self-centered, and unconcerned about her children.

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It is unusual for Arab women to involve the legal system because of social norms that discourage it (Kulwicki & Miller, 1999). But if she lacks extended family support or if both her immediate and extended family are violent, she may turn to local authorities for help. She is then likely to be looked down upon, because she is challenging familial authority.

Since domestic violence has been recognized only recently as a social problem in the Arab world, research in this area is limited. Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Baker (1997) conducted semi-structured interviews in the West Bank, which concentrated on the cities of Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and Ramallah. Their results indicated that 59 of the 61 respondents were aware that domestic violence existed throughout the world, but did not consider it a social problem. The study also indicated that women who worked in mental health settings or belonged to professional organizations were more aware that domestic violence was a social problem. Interviews conducted with men and women measured their attitudes regarding the following issues: (a) level of awareness that Palestinians had towards domestic violence; (b) their perception about domestic violence; (c) beliefs they held about dealing with abuse; and (d) reactions to public views. Differences found between genders were that women were more aware of the immorality of domestic violence, whereas men normalized and adapted to it. The study also showed that participants of domestic violence considered it to be the "woman's problem;" whereas in Western culture, domestic violence is viewed by many people as a social problem.

Domestic violence occurs regardless of an individual's social or economic status (Takeshita, 2002). In addition in most cultures, domestic violence is often regarded as a taboo subject due to cultural and social expectations. The United States accepts different

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cultures, values, and norms, but does not tolerate domestic violence, which is considered to be a criminal act. As a result, attitudes towards domestic violence will likely differ according to an immigrant's level of acculturation to the values of American culture.

Summary and the Hypotheses

In conclusion, women who are inculcated within Arab culture hold very different ideas about family and societal roles than women raised in other cultures. Due to the patriarchal ideology of Arab society, and the strict upholding of gender roles, spousal abuse is normalized and considered an acceptable condition of marital life.

On the other hand, United States culture holds very different values and attitudes about gender roles. People in the United States uphold the ideals of egalitarianism, independence for women, and individualized self-actualization. Therefore, when an Arab woman moves to the United States, her exposure to its culture will likely influence her notions about marriage and expectations of her role in her domestic capacity. However, there have been no studies conducted which have explored the influence of American culture on Arab women, and how it changes their views on marriage, family, and society's role in family life. Accordingly, there have been no studies in the United States that have explored incidents of domestic violence within Arab-American households. Furthermore, no one has explored the relation between acculturation level of Arab women and how it affects their views on domestic violence.

The hypothesis of the study is that the degree of acculturation, education, age, marital variables, and religion of the Arab women surveyed will be related to less tolerance of domestic violence. In addition, it is predicted that: (a) women who have had their marriages arranged will have a lower level of education; (b) the more educated an

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Arab woman, the less tolerant she will be towards spousal abuse; (c) the more fluent an Arab woman in her native tongue, the less exposure she will have to United States culture; and (d) religious practices will be correlated with preference for the language Arabic.

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CHAPTER III: METHOD

Participants

A sample of 125 Arab women, who live in the United States, participated in this study. Power analysis indicated that based on a level of .80 and an effect size of .50 (both considered to be moderate), the estimated number of subjects needed was 72 (Howell, 1997, chap 8).

Participants were selected on the basis of the following criteria: (a) born in an Arab country and lived there at least 10 years; (b) resided in the United States for six months or more; (c) over the age of 18; and (d) having achieved at least an eighth grade level or the equivalent of education. Participants had to have been born in an Arab culture and lived there for 10 years in order to assure that they have been exposed significantly to Arab societal values. They must have resided in the United States for six months because this study was measuring their level of acculturation and, therefore, it was important that they have adequate exposure to the culture of the United States. They have achieved an eighth grade level of education because it was necessary that they be able to read and comprehend the questionnaires.

The women who participated in this study were from the following age groups: 2 (1.6%) were between 18-22 years old, 7 (5.6%) were between ages 23-28, 13 (10.4%) were between 29-34 years of age, 16 (12.8%) were between ages 35-40, 25 (20%) were between ages 41-46, 20 (16%) were between 47-52 years, 16 (12.8%) were between ages 53-58, 13 (10.4%) 59-64, and 13 (10.4%) were 65 years old and up.

On average, survey participants lived 24 years in the U.S. The minimum was one year and the maximum was 66 years of living in this country. Of the 125 women in the

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sample, 102 (81.6%) were married, 1 (.8%) was separated, 14 (11.2%) had been divorced, and 8 (6.4%) were never married. In terms of whether marriages had been arranged, 66 (52.8%) did not have arranged marriages, and 51 (40.8 %) did. Of the women who had been married, the average length of marriage was 23.7 years. The shortest amount of time a woman had been married was 1 year; the longest a woman had been married was 52 years in duration. Furthermore, the average number of children that an Arab woman had was 2.7.

Levels of education fell into the following five categories of education: 5 (4%) had less than an 8th grade level of education, 15 (12%) had between a 9th and 12th grade level of education, 27 (21.6%) graduated high school or received a GED, 67 (53.6%) had a college degree, and 11 (8.8%) had an advanced degree. While 65 (52%) Arab women were employed, 60 (48%) were not.

As for the women's religious affiliation, a majority, 91 (72.8%) were Christian (Greek Orthodox or Catholic), 33 (26.4%) were Muslim, and 1 (.8%) identified as other. In addition, 73 (58.4%) practiced their religion sometimes, 50 (40%) practiced everyday, and 2 (1.6%) did not practice their religion at all.

Instruments

Cover Letter

The cover letter was designed to inform the participants what the study was about and that participation would be completely anonymous. In addition, through the cover letter, they were informed that participation in the study was voluntary (see Appendix A).

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Screening Questionnaire

The screening questionnaire given in Appendix B was designed to determine if potential participants met the selection criteria for the study. Consequently they were asked to check off items regarding their age, birthplace, years in country of origin, years in the United States, and education level.

Demographic Questionnaire

The following items were included in the demographic questionnaire and were given to the participants: age; marital status; if they were or had been married, whether or not the marriage was arranged; number of children; level of education; years of marriage; years residing in United States (divided in three levels: less than two years, two to five years, and greater than five years); employment status; and religious affiliation (including how often they practice) (Appendix C).

Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA)

The *Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA)* was used to assess participants' level of acculturation. It was initially modeled after a scale to measure the acculturation level of Mexican Americans, the *Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA)*. Richard Suinn and Sandra Lew designed the SL-ASIA to be used for Asian participants, which originally had a Cronbach's alpha of .88 (Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew, and Vigil, 1987), and was later measured to have .91 (Suinn, Ahuna, and Khoo, 1992). The factorial and concurrent validity of this scale has been examined and supported (Suinn et al., 1992).

A modification of the SL-ASIA (Suinn et al. 1987) was used for this study and consisted of 25 multiple-choice items measuring the following levels of cultural identity:

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language (four items); identity (four items); friendship (four items); behavior (five items); generation/ geographic history (three items); and attitude (one item). The modification was made in order to adapt the scale for Arab-American women. Therefore, I exchanged the term Arab for Asian, and the term Oriental was replaced with Middle Eastern. In addition, one question, question number 12, was taken out because it pertained to issues regarding the birth origin of parents and preceding generations. Since this study was limited to participants born outside of the United States, it was not necessary to ask where their parents and grandparents were born. Also, five new questions from the revised scale (Suinn, personal communication, 2003) were added. The final score was calculated by dividing the total sum of the answers by 25. Each item in the scale ranges from 1.00 (low acculturation) to 5.00 (high acculturation) (Appendix D). A reliability analysis was conducted to quantify internal consistency on this revised scale, with a Cronbach's α = .86; this value is quite satisfactory.

Inventory Of Beliefs About Wife Beating (IBWB)

The *Inventory Of Beliefs About Wife Beating (IBWB)* was designed to assess participants' attitudes towards wife hitting. The IBWB (Saunders, Lynch, Grayson, and Linz, 1987) consists of five subscales: *WJ: Wife-beating is Justified* (12 items); *WG: Wives Gain from Beatings* (7 items); *HG: Help Should Be Given* (5 items); *OP: Offender Should Be Punished*; and *OR: Offender is Responsible* (4 items). Responses were based on a Likert-type scale, which included: SA = strongly agree; A = agree; SLA = slightly agree; N = neither agree nor disagree; SLD = slightly disagree; D = disagree; and SD = strongly disagree (See Appendix E). The scores on this scale ranged from 1, which would mean the participant had a low tolerance of husband on wife violence, to 7, a score that

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would indicate high tolerance towards such violence. Items were recoded accordingly. A reliability analysis was used to determine internal consistency. Saunders et al found the IBWB to have a high internal consistency with a Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$. The factorial validity of this instrument has been supported by factor analysis and the concurrent validity of this scale has also been supported (Saunders et al.).

For the purpose of this study, the term *hitting* was used instead of *beating* and *battering* in the questionnaire the participants were given. The reason for replacing the term beating with hitting is that the word hitting reflects everyday usage in the American culture, and that it also has a less violent connotation. On this revised scale, Cronbach's $\alpha = .71$, a value that is satisfactory.

Procedure

Recruitment

Participants were originally recruited from two locations: a hair salon in Burlingame, California (50 surveys distributed) and an Arab convention in San Jose, California (150 surveys distributed).

The hair salon has been a gathering place for Arab women in the community for some time. Located in a busy part of town where walk-ins are typical, this salon has had up to ten customers a day. With permission of the hair stylist (see Appendix G), I posted a flier in the hair salon that invited women who met the criteria specified in the flier (see Appendix F) to participate in a doctoral study on Arab women's views about domestic violence. The women interested in participating picked up a packet containing a cover letter, a screening questionnaire, a demographic questionnaire, the *Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating (IBWB),* and the modified *Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity*

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Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA). The packet included a self-addressed, stamped envelope to mail the survey back. The participants were informed in the cover letter that the information they would provide to the researcher would be kept anonymous and that participation was voluntary.

In addition, women were recruited at the *Arab convention*, which at the time of the study was located at a hotel in San Jose, and took place during the first week in July. This convention is an extremely important gathering for Arabs and is held once every four years in California. Arab families travel from all over the United States to attend this function, which includes speeches, banquets, dancing, singing, marriages, and a place to reunite with family and friends. I set up a table near the conference registration area. A flyer was posted (see Appendix F). Packets were distributed to the women who approached the table.

Two more locations were subsequently added to the list of original locations: The Arab-American Cultural Center (AACC) in San Jose, California (40 surveys distributed), and Saint Gregory's Church in San Francisco, California (40 surveys distributed). Questionnaires were passed through word of mouth. Arab organization meetings are held at the AACC once a month, and discussions include learning about the 21 Arab countries and supporting the Arab community in San Jose. In addition, the priest at Saint Gregory's asked women to fill out the surveys to support education about Arab women.

The Alliant International University Human Participants Committee approved of the study and the method described above. The study was anonymous, and conducted in a way that would not be able to identify any participant.

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CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis One

Hypothesis one tested the relationship between level of acculturation (SAS mean score) and attitudes toward wife hitting (IBWB mean score). Results indicated that there was a statistically significant inverse relationship between SAS and IBWB scales, *rho* = -.29, $p = .001$, which is consistent with what was predicted. More specifically, the evidence suggests that the more acculturated an Arab woman is, the less tolerant she is of wife hitting.

Hypothesis Two

My second prediction was that women who have had arranged marriages would have a lower level of education than women who have not had arranged marriages. The education variable originally had five categories, which were then collapsed into three: less than high school, high school/GED, and college or higher. This was done in order to meet the requirement of a chi-square test (i.e., that no more than 20% of cells in a table have expected frequencies of less than 5). Chi-square analysis of the data in Table 1 (see below) revealed that there was no association between arranged marriages and level of education $\chi^2(2) = .185, p = .91$.

Hypothesis Three

The third hypothesis evaluated the relationship between the *wife beating is justified* subscale (dependent variable) and educational level (independent variable). Levels of education were divided into three categories: less than high school, high

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school/GED, and college and above. In order to meet the requirement to conduct a one-way analysis of

Table 1

Non Arranged Marriages and Arranged Marriages in Relation to Levels of Education

Education	No	Yes	Total
Less than H.S.	12 (18.2)	8 (15.7)	20
H.S./ GED	15 (22.7)	11 (21.6)	26
College or Higher	39 (59.1)	32 (62.7)	71
Total	66	51	117

Note. Percentages given in parenthesis.

variance (ANOVA), the sample showed to be normally distributed. However, the distribution of scores on the subscale was positively skewed; therefore, the WJ subscale was transformed into *Log* (base 10), which increased the distribution's normality (Howell, 1997, chap. 11). In addition, one outlier was eliminated. The purpose of the ANOVA was to determine whether there were differences in the mean scores between the three groups, less than high school, high school/GED, and college. Differences in the means would indicate that there was a variation between groups in terms of their tolerance for wife hitting. The ANOVA indicated that there were significant differences between groups, $F(2,124) = 6.42$, $p = .002$. Table 2 below gives the results of the ANOVA.

Post hoc tests (see Table 3) were used to determine which groups were significantly different from each other. Results indicated a statistically significant

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difference between the highest educational group, the college and higher group, and the two lower educational levels (0-8th and 0-12th), less than high school, and high school or GED. This finding indicates that college and greater-educated Arab women are less tolerant of wife hitting than the other two groups. This finding is congruent with the prediction of hypothesis three, that the more educated an Arab woman is, the less tolerant she will be of wife hitting.

Table 2

Wife Beating is Justified Subscale for Women of Different Educational Levels

Log of WJ Subscale	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Between Groups	.290	2	.145	6.42	.002
Within Groups	2.756	122	.023		
Total	3.046	124			

Table 3

Differences between Highest and Lowest Educational Groups

Education	Education	Mean Difference	p
Less than H.S.	H.S./ GED	.02529	.570
Less than H.S.	College	.08366	.028
H.S./ GED	College	.10895	.002

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Hypothesis Four

It was hypothesized that women who preferred to speak Arabic would have less contact with the outside community than women who preferred English. In order to test this prediction, three questions were used from the SAS scale: Item 2, *what language do you prefer;* Item 8, *whom do you now associate within the community*; and Item 9, *if you could pick, whom would you prefer to associate within the community*? Items 2, 8, and 9 were on a continuum from one to five, with one expressing a high preference for the Arab community, and five expressing a low preference for the Arab community. Item 2 was significantly correlated with both items 8 and 9. Spearman Rank correlation revealed a positive relationship between Language preferred and current friends, *rho* = .34, p =.0005. There was also a positive relationship between language preferred and preferred associates, *rho* = .23, p = .011. This finding is congruent with hypothesis four that the more an Arab woman prefers to speak Arabic, the more likely she will prefer to have contact with her own community.

Hypothesis Five

I evaluated the relationship between frequency of religious practice and use of Arabic, with the expectation that the more an Arab-American woman practices her religion, the more she will speak Arabic. Item 10, *how often do you practice your religion,* from the demographic section was correlated with item 1, *what language do you prefer,* from the SAS scale. Religious affiliation was divided into non-Muslims (n = 92) and Muslims (n =33). The Spearman rank correlation coefficient analysis revealed no significant relationship among non-Muslim women between frequency of religious practice and language preference, *rho* = .08, p = .48. Similarly, no significant relationship

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was found among Muslim women between frequency of religious practice and language preference, *rho* = -.21, $p = .23$.

Ancillary Analysis

I then tested whether Muslim and non-Muslim Arab-American women differed on their level of acculturation (Self-Identity Acculturation Scale: SAS mean score). To test this difference, *t*-test independent samples were used (Muslim vs. non-Muslim). The results showed a significant difference between the two groups $t\ (123) = 2.19$, $p = .004$. The mean score on the SAS scale was $M = 2.4$ (.461) for non-Muslim Arab-American women ($n = 92$) and $M = 2.1$ (.309) for Muslim women ($n = 33$). In other words, 92 non-Muslim Arab women averaged 2.4 on the SAS scale, in contrast to 33 Muslim women, who averaged 2.1 on the scale. As mentioned above, on the SAS scale, items range from 1.00 (low acculturation) to 5.00 (high acculturation). Therefore, non-Muslim women appear to be more acculturated than Muslims.

Next, I tested whether Muslim and non-Muslim Arab-American women differed in their attitudes towards wife beating (Inventory of Beliefs About Wife Beating: IBWB mean score). A *t*-test for independent samples (Muslim vs. non-Muslim) was also used to test this hypothesis. Results indicated that there was not a significant difference between the two groups $t\ (123) = -1.41$, $p = .29$. Therefore, whether an Arab woman is Muslim or non-Muslim does not appear to have an impact on whether or not she is tolerant towards wife hitting.

Another analysis that was conducted measured the difference between age of an Arab-American women and her attitude toward spousal abuse (Inventory of Beliefs About Wife Beating: IBWB mean score). In order to measure this difference, the original

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9 categories of age on the demographic survey were collapsed into three categories: 18-40 years old ($n = 38$), 41-52 years old ($n = 45$), and 53-65+ years of age ($n = 42$). The mean score of the youngest group was $M = 1.8$ on the IBWB scale, and so was that of the middle group, whereas the oldest group had a score of $M = 2.1$. In order to determine whether the observed differences were statistically significant, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used. The test revealed a significant difference between the three groups $F(2,122) = 3.02, p = .053$. This means that, although not substantial, there is sufficient support to conclude that an elder Arab woman may be more tolerant towards domestic violence than a younger Arab woman.

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CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore how an Arab woman's level of acculturation would affect her attitude towards domestic violence. I hypothesized that the more acculturated an Arab woman was to the United States, the less tolerant she would be toward spousal abuse. I tested this hypothesis by measuring an Arab woman's level of acculturation through a modified Self-Identity Acculturation Scale and correlating this with her attitude towards wife beating, as measured by an *Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating (IBWB)* scale. Findings were consistent with the prediction that women who are more acclimated to the United States are less likely to have a tolerant attitude towards spousal abuse. There has been very limited research that explored Arab women's attitudes about domestic violence, and none so far to date in the United States. This study will therefore provide a basis for further research in this area.

In the following section, I interpret the main findings of my study, which explored five hypotheses. I also provide a section that interprets ancillary analyses, which are additional findings that were of interest to me. I then discuss results that were not consistent with my predictions and explore possible reasons for these results. In addition I discuss the limitations and implications of this study, and areas for future research. Finally, I provide a summary of the major findings and emphasize contributions this study makes to the literature on Arab-American women.

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Main Findings

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis One

The first hypothesis predicted that an Arab woman's level of acculturation would impact her attitude about domestic violence. Specifically, it predicted that the more acculturated she was, the less tolerant she would be towards wife beating. The results were congruent with this prediction, which was formulated from the literature to date on Arab women, domestic violence, and acculturation.

In the United States, laws and rules that prohibit spousal abuse are enforced and have an impact on attitudes in this country towards wife beating. Research has shown (Haj-Yahia, 2002b) that as a result of growing up in an Arab culture, an Arab woman may feel that when a husband beats his wife it is justified. She may even believe she is at fault. However, upon arrival to the United States, she is gradually exposed to the American culture and may begin to re-evaluate the beliefs and values that were instilled in her since she was a young girl. As a result, an Arab woman may struggle with her identity as both an Arab and an American. This may lead her to become less tolerant of the patriarchal belief system that she was exposed to, and consequently, spousal abuse.

Hypothesis Two

The second hypothesis tested the relationship between women who had arranged marriages and their level of education. Specifically, it predicted that women who had arranged marriages would have a lower level of education because women with arranged marriages tend to lead more traditional lives. Women who lead more traditional lives may

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stay at home more and attend school less than more acculturated Arab women (Abu Lughod, 2000).

There was no relation between an Arab woman's level of education and whether or not her marriage had been arranged. This may be due to the fact that the sample consisted of predominantly highly educated Arab women. Consequently, there were not enough participants who had lower levels of education to confirm that a lower level of education would be correlated with arranged marriages.

Hypothesis Three

The third hypothesis tested the relationship between an Arab woman's level of education and her attitude toward wife beating. Specifically, hypothesis 3 predicted that the higher an Arab woman's level of education, the less tolerant she would be of spousal abuse. Results showed that college-educated Arab women are less likely to be tolerant of domestic violence when compared with Arab women with lower levels of education. Possible reasons for this include that Arab women learn that domestic violence is a societal problem through American education. Moreover, it is likely that they would become aware that women in the United States have more options than women who reside in Arab countries. These options include the possibility of leaving a marriage that is violent and seeking help from community resources. Also, they may become cognizant that women in the United States are encouraged to utilize the legal system; whereas, in the Arab world, they are not (Kulwicki & Miller, 1999). Therefore, these factors help shape a college-educated Arab woman's attitudes towards domestic violence.

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Hypothesis Four

The fourth hypothesis predicted that there would be a positive correlation between women who prefer to speak Arabic and their preference to associate with those in the Arab community. Findings showed that the more an Arab woman prefers to speak Arabic, the more likely she will prefer to have contact within her own community. Learning a second language can be very challenging for Arab women and can become a barrier to negotiating an unfamiliar culture. This is because Arabic is very different from other languages. Half the Arabs who arrive in the United States are unable to read, write, and converse in English (Kulwicki & Miller, 1999). Arabic provides Arab women with a sense of bonding, especially when they migrate to a country where Arabic is not the dominant spoken language.

Hypothesis Five

The fifth hypothesis tested the relationship between frequency of religious practice and preference for speaking Arabic. Findings indicated that there was no relationship between frequency of religious practice and language spoken. One reason for this result may have been the characteristics of the sample. The Arab women in the sample were more highly educated than most Arab-American women, and therefore, were more exposed to the United States culture. Since they would likely be using English in daily situations, their preference for Arabic would subsequently decrease.

Ancillary Analyses

Analysis One

The first ancillary analysis tested whether Muslim and non-Muslim Arab-American women differed on their level of acculturation. Results showed that non-

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Muslim women appeared to be more acculturated than Muslim women. Research supports the notion that Muslim women experience more difficulties acculturating to the United States, when compared to Christian woman (Naff, 2004). In Muslim culture, women are often expected to wear traditional attire, such as veils and clothing, which covers their skin from head to toe. This difference in dress of Muslim women may make it more difficult for them to blend into mainstream American society. Also, women who practice Christianity may have an easier time adapting to the United States because of its Christian social-cultural context (Faragallah, Schumm, and Webb, 1997).

Analysis Two

The second ancillary analysis was performed to find differences between Muslim and non-Muslim Arab women in their attitudes towards wife beating. No difference was found between these two groups. As mentioned above, the sample consisted of Arab women who had a higher level of education than the general female Arab population. This factor may have influenced the results. These findings are also congruent with the fact that, according to Renard (1992), in the Qu'ran, women have equal rights under God.

Analysis Three

Another analysis was conducted to find out whether an Arab-American woman's age affected her attitude toward spousal abuse. Results indicated that elder Arab-American women may be more likely to tolerate domestic violence. Elder Arab women tend to be more traditional in their views. Moreover, younger women are more likely to interact socially and in work relationships with those who have grown up in the American culture.

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Comparison of Findings with Previous Studies

In Haj-Yahia's (1998) study exploring Palestinian men and women's attitudes towards wife-beating, he found that between 14% and 69% of Palestinian women found wife beating somewhat justifiable under certain situations: a wife's refusal to engage in sex with her husband, a wife's disobedience of her husband, and a wife's questioning her husband's manhood. Haj-Yahia (2002) also conducted a study with Jordanians to find out whether Jordanian women's attitudes towards female gender, gender-role stereotypes, traditional attitudes towards sex, religiosity, the degree to which he or she subscribes to patriarchal ideology, and gender role expectations within a marriage would influence how tolerant Jordanian women would be towards wife beating. Results showed that out of 356 Jordanian women (92% Muslim and 8% Christian), 33.4 % strongly agreed and 68.5% agreed that wife beating was justified in certain situations. These findings were in contrast to my study. When examining the *Wife Beating is Justified Subscale*, of the IBWB, which posed various circumstance where wife beating might justifiable, none of the 125 participants responded higher than 3.5 on any question on a Likert scale where 1=low tolerance toward wife beating and 7 = high tolerance. This indicates that my sample has a neutral to low tolerance for wife beating under any circumstance (see Appendix I). This may suggest that Arab-American women in my study, though the process of acculturating to the United States, have apparently embraced values that reject the notion that wife beating is justifiable.

Unexpected Findings

One finding that was unexpected but interesting was that the intensity with which an Arab woman practiced her religion did not prove to be a factor in whether or not she

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tolerated domestic violence. It seems that overall, society has placed a stereotype upon Muslim women that it is their religious convictions that allow a man to physically, psychologically, and/or sexually abuse them. However, this study revealed that it is not necessarily how devoutly an Arab woman practices her religion that leads her to think that male on female violence is somehow justifiable. The American people may not be sufficiently exposed to the Qur'an to understand its attitudes towards women. It appears that Islam has been misunderstood as discriminatory towards Arab women. However, these results indicate that it may be the patriarchal culture that determines these attitudes towards women (e.g., women are inferior, and should be subservient to men).

Furthermore, gender role differences in Arab culture stipulate that a man shows strength when he hits his wife. This is a societal problem, and it is not only in Arab culture but American culture as well. It seems that some men think they have to prove themselves by acting powerful and strong through violent acts. This idea is reinforced through cultural mediums (e.g., the media, film, television, advertisements) on a daily basis throughout the world.

Limitations of the Study

In the following section, I will discuss four of the most salient limitations to my study. First, I attempted to recruit women from three equal categories of time spent in the United States. However, the average time an Arab woman in the sample had lived in the United States was 24 years. Most of the women in my sample fit into the third category, which was greater than five years residency. Second, there were regional limitations. Although approximately 25 women from New York filled out surveys, most of the

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women who filled out the surveys were from the San Francisco Bay Area. This limits my ability to generalize to women who live in other regions of the country.

Thirdly, my study was limited because the majority of my sample was highly educated. The reason this is a limitation is because the study was unable to show that non-educated women may be more tolerant than educated women towards spousal abuse. Finally, the topic, *attitudes of Arab women towards domestic violence,* is controversial. It may be viewed as degrading to women, and not a topic that Muslim women would want to discuss. Especially, it may not be considered appropriate for Muslim women to reveal too much about themselves to outsiders. Also a Muslim woman may feel uncertain and perhaps the sense she is betraying her husband by revealing her attitudes about domestic violence. On the other hand, Christian women may have filled out the surveys through a desire to dispel the stereotype that Arab women allow their husbands to hit them. They may be motivated to fill out the surveys in order to voice their view that they would not tolerate this abuse.

Implications of the Study

The purpose of my study was to educate therapists about Arab women's level of acculturation and their views towards domestic violence. The following implications of this study should be considered by therapists who treat the Arab-American community. A therapist should be mindful of an Arab women's level of acculturation and how that may influence her psychological adjustment. Psycho-education about the term and the process of acculturation may also prove to be helpful.

In addition, inquiring about an Arab woman's religious practices, exploring her views of the Qur'an or Bible, and how much her beliefs are based on these scriptures,

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will inform the therapist about important cultural influences. Furthermore, a therapist should be mindful when working with different age groups in the Arab-American community. For example, younger generations may keep their traditional values but change their views as they mix with the American culture. In contrast, elder Arab-American women may want to adhere to their traditional values.

Furthermore, Arab women tend to seek educational opportunities when they come to the United States. Therefore, it is crucial to ask about an Arab woman's level of education. If an Arab woman is less educated it may be helpful for a therapist to inform her about domestic violence and to ask her views about it. Gender role differences are extremely important in Arab culture and continue to be reinforced by family traditions and these may influence her views. Also, it may be helpful to tell her that in the United States, unlike Middle Eastern countries, domestic violence is considered a felony or a misdemeanor if damage is done to the body.

Future Research

One area that needs to be investigated further is Arab-American men's attitudes towards domestic violence. It would be interesting to know how an Arab-American man's level of acculturation affects his attitude towards domestic violence. This study could be conducted using the same instruments and criteria to see if there is a difference, especially between Christian and Muslim men, in their views towards spousal abuse. In particular, it might be useful to find out how Arab-American men's religious practices influence their attitude towards spousal abuse. It might also be useful to ask Arab men's opinions regarding their cultural upbringing to find out if it influences their belief system about domestic violence. This might be studied qualitatively, which could support the

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quantitative data and provide additional information to therapists who work with Arab-American men.

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APPENDIX A

Cover Letter

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APPENDIX A

Cover Letter

Hello:

I am a doctoral student of psychology. I am doing a survey on Arab women's attitudes about domestic violence and about your adjustment to the United States. If you would like, please fill out these surveys. Of course, you may also decide not to complete them. If you decide to fill them out, please mail them back to me in the stamped envelope that is included in the packet or you may leave them in the yellow envelope here. I will not know your name or be able to identify your information in any way. This information will be completely anonymous.

If you would like to find out the results of this study, please go to this website address which will provide a one page summary of the results and updates as to when you should expect to see them:

http://arabamericanresults.homestead.com

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APPENDIX B

Screening Questionnaire

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APPENDIX B

Screening Questionnaire

IF YOU DO NOT CHECK EVERY BOX THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME - BUT YOU DON'T NEED TO FINISH THE PACKET

Please place a check mark next to the statement if it accurately describes you

_____ I am 18 years or older.

_____ I was born in an Arab country.

_____ I lived in the country I was born in for at least 10 years.

_____ I have lived in the United States for six months or more.

_____ I have at least an eighth grade level of education or equivalent.

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APPENDIX C

Demographic Questionnaire

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APPENDIX C

Demographic Questionnaire

Please mark what best fits you

1. Age: ____ 18-22_____ 23-28_____ 29-34_____ 35-40 _____ 41-46

   _____47-52_____ 53-58____ 59-64 ____ 65+

2. Marital Status: __Married __Divorced __Never Married __Separated

3. Arranged Marriage ___Yes ___No

4. Number of Children ____

5. Education Level: 0- 8th grade _____
   9-12 grade _____
   High School/GED _____
   College _____
   Advanced Degree _____

6. Years of Marriage: _____

7. Number of Years living in the United States: _____

8. Employed: __Yes __No

9. Religion: _____

10. How often do you practice your religion?

    ____Everyday____Sometimes____Not at all

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APPENDIX D

The Modified Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale

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APPENDIX D

The Modified Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale

The questions below are for the purpose of collecting information about your historical background as well as more recent behaviors that may be related to your cultural identity. Choose one answer which best describes you:

1. What language can you speak?
    1. Arabic only
    2. Mostly Arabic, some English
    3. Arabic and English about equally well (bilingual)
    4. Mostly English, some Arabic
    5. Only English
2. What language do you prefer?
    1. Arabic only
    2. Mostly Arabic, some English
    3. Arabic and English about equally well (bilingual)
    4. Mostly English, some Arabic
    5. Only English
3. How do you identify yourself?
    1. Middle Eastern
    2. Arab
    3. Arab American
    4. American
4. Which identification does (did) your mother use?
    1. Middle Eastern
    2. Arab
    3. Arab-American
    4. American

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5. Which identification does (did) your father use?

    1. Middle Eastern
    2. Arab
    3. Arab-American
    4. American

6. What was the ethnic of origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child up to age 6?

    1. Almost exclusively Arab, Arab-Americans, Middle Eastern
    2. Mostly Arab, Arab-American, Middle Eastern
    3. About equally Arab groups and Anglo groups
    4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Arab ethnic groups.
    5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics or other non-Arab ethnic groups

7. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child from 6 to 18?

    1. Almost exclusively Arab, Arab-Americans, Middle Eastern
    2. Mostly Arab, Arab-American, Middle Eastern
    3. About equally Arab groups and Anglo groups
    4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Arab ethnic groups.
    5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics or other non-Arab ethnic groups

8. Whom do you now associate with in the community?

    1. Almost exclusively Arab, Arab-Americans, Middle Eastern
    2. Mostly Arab, Arab-American, Middle Eastern
    3. About equally Arab groups and Anglo groups
    4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Arab ethnic groups.
    5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics or other non-Arab ethnic groups

9. If you could pick, whom would you prefer to associate with in the community?

    1. Almost exclusively Arab, Arab-Americans, Middle Eastern
    2. Mostly Arab, Arab-American, Middle Eastern
    3. About equally Arab groups and Anglo groups
    4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Arab ethnic groups
    5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics or other non-Arab ethnic groups

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10. What is you music preference?

1. Only Arab music
2. Mostly Arab
3. Equally Arab and English
4. Mostly English
5. English only

11. What is you movie preference?

1. Arab-language movies only
2. Arab-language movies mostly
3. Equally Arab/ English
4. English-Language movies mostly
5. English- Language movies only

12. Where were you raised?

1. In Middle East only
2. Mostly in Middle East, some in U.S.
3. Equally in Middle East and U.S.
4. Mostly in U.S., some in Middle East
5. In U.S. only

13. What contact have you had with Middle East?

1. Raised one year or more in Middle East
2. Lived for less than one year in Middle East
3. Occasional visits to Middle East
4. Occasional communication (letters, phone calls, etc.) with people in Middle East
5. No exposure or communication with people in Middle East

14. What is your food preference at home?

1. Exclusively Arab food
2. Mostly Arab food, some American
3. About equally Arab and American
4. Mostly American food
5. Exclusively American food

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15. What is your food preference in restaurants?

1. Exclusively Arab food
2. Mostly Arab food, some American
3. About equally Arab and American
4. Mostly American food
5. Exclusively American food

16. Do you

1. read only in Arab Language
2. read Arabic Language better than English
3. read both Arabic and English equally well
4. read English better than Arabic Language
5. read only English

17. Do you

1. write only in Arabic
2. write in Arabic better than English
3. write both Arabic and English equally well
4. write English better than Arabic
5. write only English

18. If you consider yourself a member of the Arab group how much pride do you have?

1. extremely proud
2. moderately proud
3. little proud
4. no pride but do not feel negative toward group
5. no pride but do feel negative toward group

19. How would you rate yourself?

1. very Arab
2. mostly Arab
3. bicultural
4. mostly westernized
5. very westernized

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20. Do you participate in Arab occasions, holidays, traditions, etc.?

1. nearly all
2. most of them
3. some of them
4. a few of them
5. none at all

21. Rate yourself on how much you believe in Arab values (e.g. about marriage, families, education, work):

1. do not believe in Arab values
2. believe in very few Arab values
3. believe in some but not many Arab values
4. believe in most Arab values
5. strongly believe in Arab Values

22. Rate yourself on how much you believe in American (Western) values

1. do not believe in American values
2. believe in very few American values
3. believe in some but not many American values
4. believe in most American values
5. strongly believe in American Values

23. Rate yourself on how well you fit when with other Arabs of the same ethnicity.

1. do not fit
2. fit in a little bit
3. fit in sometimes
4. fit well
5. fit very well

24. Rate yourself on how well you fit when with other Americans who are non-Arab (Westerners)

1. do not fit
2. fit in a little bit
3. fit in sometimes
4. fit well
5. fit very well

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25. There are many different ways in which people think of themselves. Which ONE of the following most closely describes how you view yourself?

    1. I consider myself basically an Arab person (e.g., Jordanian, Egyptian, Palestinian, Lebanese, Middle Eastern). Even though I live and work in America, I still view myself basically as an Arab person.

    2. I consider myself basically as an American. Even though I have an Arab background and characteristics, I still view myself basically as an American.

    3. I consider myself as an Arab-American, although deep down, I always know that I am an Arab.

    4. I consider myself as an Arab-American, although deep down, I view myself as an American first.

    5. I consider myself as an Arab-American. I have both Arab and American characteristics, and I view myself as a blend of both.

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APPENDIX E

Modified Questionnaire: Inventory Of Beliefs About Wife Hitting

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APPENDIX E

Modified Questionnaire: Inventory Of Beliefs About Wife Hitting

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. The questions have to do with your opinions about how husbands should treat their wives. Please circle the answer that best matches your opinion.

1. A husband has no right to hit his wife even if she breaks agreements she has made with him

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

2. Even when a wife's behavior challenges her husband's manhood, he's not justified in hitting her.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

3. A wife doesn't deserve to be hit even if she keeps reminding her husband of his weak points.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

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4. Even when women lie to their husbands they do not deserve to get hit.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

5. A sexually unfaithful wife deserves to be hit.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

6. Sometimes it is OK for a man to hit his wife.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

7. It would do some wives some good to be hit by their husbands.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

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8. Occasional violence by a husband toward his wife can help maintain the marriage.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

9. There is no excuse for a man to hit his wife.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

10. A woman who constantly refuses to have sex with her husband is asking to be hit.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

11. Episodes of a man hitting his wife are the wife's fault.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

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12. Wives could avoid being hit by their husbands if they knew when to stop talking.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

13. Wives who are hit are responsible for their abuse because they intended it to happen.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

14. Wives who are hit are responsible for the abuse because they should have foreseen it would happen.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

15. Wives who are hit try to get their partners to hit them as a way to get attention from them.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

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16. When a wife is hit, it is caused by her behavior in the weeks before she is hit.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

17. Most wives secretly desire to be hit by their husbands.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

18. Wives try to get hit by their husbands to get sympathy from others.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

19. Women feel pain and no pleasure when being hit by their husbands.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

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20. If I heard a woman being attacked by her husband, it would be best that I do nothing.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

21. If I heard a women being attacked by her husband, I would call the police.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

22. Hitting wives should be given a high priority as a social problem by government agencies.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

23. Social agencies should do more to help women who are hit.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

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24. Women should be protected by law if their husbands hit them.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

25. If a wife is hit by her husband, she should divorce him immediately.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

26. The best way to deal with a wife being hit is to arrest the husband.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

27. How long should a man who has hit his wife spend time in prison or jail?

1. 0
2. 1 month
3. 6 months
4. 1 year
5. 3 years
6. 5 years
7. 10 years
8. Don't know

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28. A wife should move out of the house if her husband hits her.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

29. Husbands who hit their wives are responsible for the abuse because they intended to do it.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

30. It is the man's fault if he hits his wife.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

31. Husbands who hit their wives should be responsible for the abuse because they should have foreseen that it would happen.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

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32. The best way to deal with wife hitting is to arrest the husband.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

33. Husbands who hit are responsible for the abuse because they intended to do it.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Neither Agree nor Disagree
5. Slightly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly Disagree

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APPENDIX F

Flyer

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APPENDIX F

Flyer

CALIFORNIA SCHOOL OF PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY IN SAN FRANCISCO

Looking for Arab-American women over the age of 18 to participate in a study that looks at cultural identity and attitudes towards domestic violence.

You must be:

- **be 18 years or older.**
- **born in an Arab country.**
- **lived in the country you were born in for at least 10 years.**
- **lived in the United States for six months or more.**
- **have at least an eighth grade level of education or equivalent.**

If interested please fill out questionnaire below to see if you qualify for this study

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APPENDIX G

Permission to Distribute Surveys

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APPENDIX G

Permission to Distribute Surveys

I _____ give Kristie Jaghab permission to distribute surveys in my hair salon. I also give her permission to keep a yellow envelope in my hair salon. I will not disclose the identity of anyone who decides to participate in the study.

X _____ X _____

Mona Karam Kristie Jaghab

Date_____

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APPENDIX H

Informed Consent and Release of Information

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APPENDIX H

Informed Consent and Release of Information

Title of Study: The Attitudes of Arab-American Women Towards Domestic Violence

Researchers: Kristie Jaghab, M.A., Doctoral Candidate
Christopher Tori, Ph.D., Dissertation Chair
Fred Heide, Ph.D., Committee Member

I , consent to participate in Kristie Jaghab's research study, that she is completing as part of her doctoral degree requirements. Through my participation in this study I will answer questions regarding issues relating to the length of time I have spent in this country and my attitudes about domestic violence. I understand that I will not be identified and that surveys I fill out will not have my name or any other identifying information on them. My participation in this study is voluntary, and that I am under no obligation to participate, but if I do, the information I give will be kept in the strictest confidence.

I understand that it will take approximately 45 minutes to fill out the surveys, and that if at any time I decide not to participate further, I may do so. I understand I may contact Kristie Jaghab at (650)-483-6620 in case I have any questions or concerns regarding the survey. Furthermore, I understand that if I experience undo stress as a result of participating in this study, I will be referred to a licensed therapist for a consultation at no cost to me. I also understand that if I experience a problem or wish information I may contact the Human Participant's Committee at Alliant International University for further clarification. I understand that I can call Kristie Jaghab if I want to know the results of the study.

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I also understand that in accordance with guidelines of the American Psychological Association, all materials will be kept in a locked cabinet for a minimum of five years following the completion of this study. The written materials will be shredded at that time. The raw data will only be available to Kristie Jaghab and her dissertation committee.

Furthermore, I understand that if the researcher learns of issues that pose a danger to either myself, an identifiable adult, elder or to a child, Kristie Jaghab must report this danger to the proper authorities.

_____ _____

Date Signature of Participant

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APPENDIX I

Inventory Of Beliefs About Wife Beating Scales by Age Categories

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APPENDIX I

Inventory Of Beliefs About Wife Beating Scales by Age Categories

No right to hit wife	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	36	44	38	118
	94.7%	97.8%	90.5%	94.4%
Agree	2	1	2	5
	5.3%	2.2%	4.8%	4.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Strongly disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Husband challenged	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	36	43	37	116
	94.7%	95.6%	88.1%	92.8%
Agree	2	2	2	6
	5.3%	4.4%	4.8%	4.8%
Slightly agree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Neither agree nor disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Slightly disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Husband weak points	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	34	42	35	111
	89.5%	93.3%	83.3%	88.8%
Agree	4	3	5	12
	10.5%	6.7%	11.9%	9.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Strongly disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Unfaithful wife	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	3	3	8	14
	7.9%	6.7%	19.0%	11.2%
Agree	2	1	7	10
	5.3%	2.2%	16.7%	8.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	2	3	3	8
	5.3%	6.7%	7.1%	6.4%
Slightly disagree	1	0	0	1
	2.6%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Disagree	11	8	6	25
	28.9%	17.8%	14.3%	20.0%
Strongly disagree	19	30	18	67
	50.0%	66.7%	42.9%	53.6%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Women lie	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	32	42	32	106
	84.2%	93.3%	76.2%	84.8%
Agree	5	3	5	13
	13.2%	6.7%	11.9%	10.4%
Slightly agree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Slightly disagree	0	0	2	2
	.0%	.0%	4.8%	1.6%
Disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Strongly disagree	1	0	1	2
	2.6%	.0%	2.4%	1.6%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

OK to hit wife	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	3	4	3	10
	7.9%	8.9%	7.1%	8.0%
Slightly agree	0	1	1	2
	.0%	2.2%	2.4%	1.6%
Disagree	4	7	9	20
	10.5%	15.6%	21.4%	16.0%
Strongly disagree	31	33	29	93
	81.6%	73.3%	69.0%	74.4%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Good to be hit	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	0	2	3	5
	.0%	4.4%	7.1%	4.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	1	1	1	3
	2.6%	2.2%	2.4%	2.4%
Disagree	5	6	14	25
	13.2%	13.3%	33.3%	20.0%
Strongly disagree	32	36	24	92
	84.2%	80.0%	57.1%	73.6%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Occasional violence	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	0	1	1	2
	.0%	2.2%	2.4%	1.6%
Agree	1	0	0	1
	2.6%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Disagree	6	7	12	25
	15.8%	15.6%	28.6%	20.0%
Strongly disagree	31	37	29	97
	81.6%	82.2%	69.0%	77.6%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

No excuse to hit wife	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	32	40	34	106
	84.2%	88.9%	81.0%	84.8%
Agree	6	3	4	13
	15.8%	6.7%	9.5%	10.4%
Slightly agree	0	1	0	1
	.0%	2.2%	.0%	.8%
Neither agree nor disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Strongly disagree	0	1	3	4
	.0%	2.2%	7.1%	3.2%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Refuses to have sex	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	1	0	1	2
	2.6%	.0%	2.4%	1.6%
Agree	0	1	0	1
	.0%	2.2%	.0%	.8%
Slightly agree	0	1	0	1
	.0%	2.2%	.0%	.8%
Neither agree nor disagree	1	1	2	4
	2.6%	2.2%	4.8%	3.2%
Disagree	7	6	12	25
	18.4%	13.3%	28.6%	20.0%
Strongly disagree	29	36	27	92
	76.3%	80.0%	64.3%	73.6%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Wife's fault	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	1	1	2	4
	2.6%	2.2%	4.8%	3.2%
Slightly agree	1	0	0	1
	2.6%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Neither agree nor disagree	2	2	1	5
	5.3%	4.4%	2.4%	4.0%
Slightly disagree	0	1	1	2
	.0%	2.2%	2.4%	1.6%
Disagree	7	5	9	21
	18.4%	11.1%	21.4%	16.8%
Strongly disagree	27	36	29	92
	71.1%	80.0%	69.0%	73.6%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Stop talking	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	0	1	4	5
	.0%	2.2%	9.5%	4.0%
Agree	1	2	5	8
	2.6%	4.4%	11.9%	6.4%
Slightly agree	6	3	0	9
	15.8%	6.7%	.0%	7.2%
Neither agree nor disagree	2	5	3	10
	5.3%	11.1%	7.1%	8.0%
Slightly disagree	1	0	1	2
	2.6%	.0%	2.4%	1.6%
Disagree	6	5	12	23
	15.8%	11.1%	28.6%	18.4%
Strongly disagree	22	29	17	68
	57.9%	64.4%	40.5%	54.4%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Intended it to happen	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	0	1	3	4
	.0%	2.2%	7.1%	3.2%
Agree	1	0	1	2
	2.6%	.0%	2.4%	1.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	1	1	2	4
	2.6%	2.2%	4.8%	3.2%
Slightly disagree	1	0	0	1
	2.6%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Disagree	5	10	10	25
	13.2%	22.2%	23.8%	20.0%
Strongly disagree	30	33	26	89
	78.9%	73.3%	61.9%	71.2%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Foreseen it would happen	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	0	1	1	2
	.0%	2.2%	2.4%	1.6%
Agree	0	2	1	3
	.0%	4.4%	2.4%	2.4%
Slightly agree	1	2	1	4
	2.6%	4.4%	2.4%	3.2%
Neither agree nor disagree	0	1	3	4
	.0%	2.2%	7.1%	3.2%
Slightly disagree	1	0	0	1
	2.6%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Disagree	8	8	13	29
	21.1%	17.8%	31.0%	23.2%
Strongly disagree	28	31	23	82
	73.7%	68.9%	54.8%	65.6%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

A way to get attention	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Slightly agree	1	0	0	1
	2.6%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Neither agree nor disagree	1	5	4	10
	2.6%	11.1%	9.5%	8.0%
Slightly disagree	1	0	0	1
	2.6%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Disagree	7	10	14	31
	18.4%	22.2%	33.3%	24.8%
Strongly disagree	28	30	24	82
	73.7%	66.7%	57.1%	65.6%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Caused by wife behavior	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	1	0	0	1
	2.6%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Slightly agree	1	1	0	2
	2.6%	2.2%	.0%	1.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	1	3	5	9
	2.6%	6.7%	11.9%	7.2%
Slightly disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Disagree	7	8	11	26
	18.4%	17.8%	26.2%	20.8%
Strongly disagree	28	33	25	86
	73.7%	73.3%	59.5%	68.8%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Desire to be hit	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Slightly agree	1	1	0	2
	2.6%	2.2%	.0%	1.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	1	0	1	2
	2.6%	.0%	2.4%	1.6%
Slightly disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Disagree	6	10	6	22
	15.8%	22.2%	14.3%	17.6%
Strongly disagree	30	34	34	98
	78.9%	75.6%	81.0%	78.4%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Get sympathy from others	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Agree	0	1	0	1
	.0%	2.2%	.0%	.8%
Slightly agree	3	2	0	5
	7.9%	4.4%	.0%	4.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	1	1	3	5
	2.6%	2.2%	7.1%	4.0%
Slightly disagree	0	1	1	2
	.0%	2.2%	2.4%	1.6%
Disagree	6	7	10	23
	15.8%	15.6%	23.8%	18.4%
Strongly disagree	28	33	28	89
	73.7%	73.3%	66.7%	71.2%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Women feel pain	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	30	36	29	95
	78.9%	80.0%	69.0%	76.0%
Agree	3	6	6	15
	7.9%	13.3%	14.3%	12.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	1	1	0	2
	2.6%	2.2%	.0%	1.6%
Disagree	2	0	1	3
	5.3%	.0%	2.4%	2.4%
Strongly disagree	2	2	6	10
	5.3%	4.4%	14.3%	8.0%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Do nothing	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	0	1	3	4
	.0%	2.2%	7.1%	3.2%
Agree	1	4	5	10
	2.6%	8.9%	11.9%	8.0%
Slightly agree	0	0	3	3
	.0%	.0%	7.1%	2.4%
Neither agree nor disagree	4	2	2	8
	10.5%	4.4%	4.8%	6.4%
Slightly disagree	2	1	2	5
	5.3%	2.2%	4.8%	4.0%
Disagree	14	14	13	41
	36.8%	31.1%	31.0%	32.8%
Strongly disagree	17	23	14	54
	44.7%	51.1%	33.3%	43.2%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Call the police	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	14	18	17	49
	36.8%	40.0%	40.5%	39.2%
Agree	9	17	12	38
	23.7%	37.8%	28.6%	30.4%
Slightly agree	4	4	4	12
	10.5%	8.9%	9.5%	9.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	6	2	5	13
	15.8%	4.4%	11.9%	10.4%
Slightly disagree	1	1	0	2
	2.6%	2.2%	.0%	1.6%
Disagree	4	1	3	8
	10.5%	2.2%	7.1%	6.4%
Strongly disagree	0	2	1	3
	.0%	4.4%	2.4%	2.4%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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High priority social problem	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	27	27	26	80
	71.1%	60.0%	61.9%	64.0%
Agree	10	13	14	37
	26.3%	28.9%	33.3%	29.6%
Slightly agree	1	0	1	2
	2.6%	.0%	2.4%	1.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	0	3	0	3
	.0%	6.7%	.0%	2.4%
Strongly disagree	0	2	1	3
	.0%	4.4%	2.4%	2.4%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Help women who are hit	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	27	35	32	94
	71.1%	77.8%	76.2%	75.2%
Agree	8	8	9	25
	21.1%	17.8%	21.4%	20.0%
Slightly agree	2	1	0	3
	5.3%	2.2%	.0%	2.4%
Neither agree nor disagree	1	1	0	2
	2.6%	2.2%	.0%	1.6%
Strongly disagree	0	0	1	1
	.0%	.0%	2.4%	.8%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Women protected by law	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	28	35	31	94
	73.7%	77.8%	73.8%	75.2%
Agree	8	9	10	27
	21.1%	20.0%	23.8%	21.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	2	1	1	4
	5.3%	2.2%	2.4%	3.2%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Divorce husband	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	8	11	9	28
	21.1%	24.4%	21.4%	22.4%
Agree	6	8	6	20
	15.8%	17.8%	14.3%	16.0%
Slightly agree	5	7	5	17
	13.2%	15.6%	11.9%	13.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	12	5	7	24
	31.6%	11.1%	16.7%	19.2%
Slightly disagree	1	8	4	13
	2.6%	17.8%	9.5%	10.4%
Disagree	6	4	10	20
	15.8%	8.9%	23.8%	16.0%
Strongly disagree	0	2	1	3
	.0%	4.4%	2.4%	2.4%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Arrest the husband 1	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	5	10	5	20
	13.2%	22.2%	11.9%	16.0%
Agree	8	10	12	30
	21.1%	22.2%	28.6%	24.0%
Slightly agree	6	8	5	19
	15.8%	17.8%	11.9%	15.2%
Neither agree nor disagree	12	6	6	24
	31.6%	13.3%	14.3%	19.2%
Slightly disagree	3	4	5	12
	7.9%	8.9%	11.9%	9.6%
Disagree	3	3	6	12
	7.9%	6.7%	14.3%	9.6%
Strongly disagree	1	4	3	8
	2.6%	8.9%	7.1%	6.4%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Time in prison	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
10 years	1	1	2	4
	2.6%	2.2%	4.8%	3.2%
5 years	6	5	3	14
	15.8%	11.1%	7.1%	11.2%
3 years	4	5	0	9
	10.5%	11.1%	.0%	7.2%
1 year	24	29	27	80
	63.2%	64.4%	64.3%	64.0%
6 months	1	1	3	5
	2.6%	2.2%	7.1%	4.0%
1 month	0	1	1	2
	.0%	2.2%	2.4%	1.6%
No Time	2	3	6	11
	5.3%	6.7%	14.3%	8.8%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Move out	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	14	15	12	41
	36.8%	33.3%	28.6%	32.8%
Agree	9	13	14	36
	23.7%	28.9%	33.3%	28.8%
Slightly agree	0	0	4	4
	.0%	.0%	9.5%	3.2%
Neither agree nor disagree	9	4	4	17
	23.7%	8.9%	9.5%	13.6%
Slightly disagree	2	4	4	10
	5.3%	8.9%	9.5%	8.0%
Disagree	4	5	2	11
	10.5%	11.1%	4.8%	8.8%
Strongly disagree	0	4	2	6
	.0%	8.9%	4.8%	4.8%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Husbands are responsible	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	18	26	19	63
	47.4%	57.8%	45.2%	50.4%
Agree	10	11	14	35
	26.3%	24.4%	33.3%	28.0%
Slightly agree	3	1	2	6
	7.9%	2.2%	4.8%	4.8%
Neither agree nor disagree	5	2	4	11
	13.2%	4.4%	9.5%	8.8%
Slightly disagree	1	2	1	4
	2.6%	4.4%	2.4%	3.2%
Disagree	0	2	0	2
	.0%	4.4%	.0%	1.6%
Strongly disagree	1	1	2	4
	2.6%	2.2%	4.8%	3.2%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Man's fault	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	23	26	21	70
	60.5%	57.8%	50.0%	56.0%
Agree	8	8	9	25
	21.1%	17.8%	21.4%	20.0%
Slightly agree	5	5	4	14
	13.2%	11.1%	9.5%	11.2%
Neither agree nor disagree	2	4	5	11
	5.3%	8.9%	11.9%	8.8%
Slightly disagree	0	1	0	1
	.0%	2.2%	.0%	.8%
Disagree	0	0	2	2
	.0%	.0%	4.8%	1.6%
Strongly disagree	0	1	1	2
	.0%	2.2%	2.4%	1.6%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Husbands responsible	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	20	24	18	62
	52.6%	53.3%	42.9%	49.6%
Agree	7	14	17	38
	18.4%	31.1%	40.5%	30.4%
Slightly agree	4	2	4	10
	10.5%	4.4%	9.5%	8.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	6	4	3	13
	15.8%	8.9%	7.1%	10.4%
Slightly disagree	1	0	0	1
	2.6%	.0%	.0%	.8%
Disagree	0	1	0	1
	.0%	2.2%	.0%	.8%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Arrest the husband2	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	4	8	10	22
	10.5%	17.8%	23.8%	17.6%
Agree	10	14	7	31
	26.3%	31.1%	16.7%	24.8%
Slightly agree	6	5	6	17
	15.8%	11.1%	14.3%	13.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	10	7	7	24
	26.3%	15.6%	16.7%	19.2%
Slightly disagree	2	6	3	11
	5.3%	13.3%	7.1%	8.8%
Disagree	4	3	7	14
	10.5%	6.7%	16.7%	11.2%
Strongly disagree	2	2	2	6
	5.3%	4.4%	4.8%	4.8%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Husband intended to do it	Age categories			Total
	18-40	41-52	53-65+	
Strongly agree	16	25	23	64
	42.1%	55.6%	54.8%	51.2%
Agree	8	14	15	37
	21.1%	31.1%	35.7%	29.6%
Slightly agree	5	1	1	7
	13.2%	2.2%	2.4%	5.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	6	1	2	9
	15.8%	2.2%	4.8%	7.2%
Slightly disagree	2	2	0	4
	5.3%	4.4%	.0%	3.2%
Disagree	0	1	1	2
	.0%	2.2%	2.4%	1.6%
Strongly disagree	1	1	0	2
	2.6%	2.2%	.0%	1.6%
Total	38	45	42	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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